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"Our part is to conspire with the new works of new days."---Emerson.

THE NEW IDEAL

A Journal of Constructive Liberal Thought and Applied Ethics.

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THE NEW IDEAL.

JAMES H. WEST, ... Editor.

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[From Judge J. W. NORTH, Oleander, Cal.]

"I inclose stamps for THE NEW IDEAL and for 'Uplifts of Heart and Will.' The tone of your paper is nearer what I want than anything else I have seen. While it is free from Jewish and Christian mythology, it is full of useful instruction; while it fully and joyously accepts all science, it does not descend to coarseness or flippancy in exposing error. It aims to dispel darkness in the true way,—by presenting the light attractively. Success to all such efforts."

[From a liberal worker in Arkansas.]

"Please find inclosed my subscription for your valuable paper. We have here a secular society, and are hoping for good results. We use at our meetings your 'Uplifts of Heart and Will,' and like it very much. You are doing a good work. Mankind cannot reason while shackled with superstition, and our free institutions cannot endure unless the masses can reason and are virtuous."

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THE object of THE NEW IDEAL is the discovery and propagation of constructive liberal thought, and the application of modern ethical ideals to the increasing problems of human need. This work it will deem Religion. It will feel, moreover, that there is no religion higher or more necessary; for this, on its thought side, will be the establishing of ethics and religion on a scientific basis,—a consummation which a rapidly increasing number of the world's earnest workers are more and more, every year now, demanding and endeavoring; and on its practical side it will be the augmenting of the sum of human good.

The actual needs of mankind in the present day are so widely different, in many ways, from mankind's supposed needs in the past; the changed basis of modern knowledge from the basis of older systems is so complete; to those who are able to see there is so much more of beauty and helpfulness in the New and nearer True than in the still-prevalent religious fantasies of the child-world, that the editor deems there will be place and room for the paper. And with the unsurpassed list of contributors which he is able to print elsewhere, he is confident THE NEW IDEAL will never lack either in interest or value.

A word concerning our title-phrase: Mankind's old ideal was a supposed supernatural revelation; the authority of tradition and creed; a life in accord with speculative dogma. The New Ideal, as mankind is slowly coming to comprehend and formulate it, is a naturally acquired knowledge; the authority of the nature of things; a life in harmony with the universe's highest discoverable energies. Our title thus hints forcibly, and in three words, the whole high basis of the world's modern nobler thought and activity.

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Presented

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

In the editorial columns will be found a paragraph announcing the hoped-for series of constructive articles by Dr. Abbot, to begin in our March number. The article by the Doctor in our present issue may be looked upon as an "Interlude."

Also in our next number, a bright, earnest essay by Hon. Geo. F. Talbot, "The Ideal Papacy."

And by Chas K. Whipple, a paper, "Testimony the Basis of History"; showing, Mr. Gladstone to the contrary notwithstanding, that in "Robert Elsmere" abundant explanation is given of the process of argument or evidence by which Robert becomes a Rationalist.

Also, the second part of Mr. Holland's authentic history, of which serial the first portion is given is this number.

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The New Ideal could do much valuable "missionary work" for Liberalism. Who will begin a generous fund for such work?

We would call attention to the desirable "Premium" we offer on this page, in return for a certain small number of new subscriptions. Quite a number have already been mailed, free, in return for five subscriptions sent us. More would get up such a club, perhaps, if they realized the value of the book—and the help the subscriptions would be to us in our work.

We desire (with many others) that The New Ideal may shortly be made a weekly, or at least a fortnightly. We will be glad of a general expression of views in the matter,—and of the subscriptions which shall make the more frequent issue possible.

Should The New Ideal shortly be made a weekly or fortnightly, as hinted above, the subscription-price will necessarily be increased. All, therefore, who subscribe at once for a year, at the present rates, may be securing double value for their money.

Any person becoming a subscriber to The New Ideal, and paying $1.00 for one year, is entitled to receive *free*, on request, a copy *in the paper binding* of either of Mr. West's books, "Uplifts of Heart and Will," or "The Complete Life"; or either of the same, or "Voices of Youth," *in cloth* binding, at *half rates*.

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The original incentive urging to the founding of The New Ideal was the growing demand for the printing of Mr. West's discourses. Under the new style, although some issues may contain only general editorial matters, the publishing of the editor's discourses will be from time to time continued.

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An aged man, a physician,—of whom we know nothing except that he ordered a copy of the book,—writes: "I have read with delight the little book, 'Uplifts of Heart and Will.' I am now nearly 62 years of age, and have lived a lonely life as regards the satisfying of my liberal religious aspirations. Your little book fills a void in my soul's loneliness which I have suffered for more than 40 years."

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See the advertisement of Single Pamphlet Discourses by Mr. West, on another page.

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THE NEW IDEAL

A Journal of Constructive Liberal Thought and Applied Ethics.

VOL. II. BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1889. No. 2.

EDITORIAL.

THE TRANSCENDENT POSSIBILITY.

AMID a treeless prairie vast
A horseman stayed at set of sun:
With eyes far strained o'er shadows dun
He swept the waste his steed had passed,

And onward, o'er the path to be,
And there and here, on every side.
But naught in Nature's round replied;
His gaze met blank obscurity.

Yet, ah, the man was Nature's child!
He trusted Her who gave him birth;
He laid him on the flower-spread earth
Amid the grewsome vastness wild.

He knew not he should wake again:
To wake or sleep he knew was good.
In love with air and sea and wood
His eyes he shut to dreams of men.

His arm for pillow — this was all;
Uncovered lay he on earth's breast:
But rested he with gracious rest,
And o'er him gleamed the star-set wall.

JAMES H. WEST.

GENERAL TOPICS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS NEEDED.

THE NEW IDEAL needs many more subscribers if it is to accomplish even a small part of the *duty* to-day devolving upon Liberalism. It is a high work the paper attempts, and many friends should "volunteer" in its behalf — not wait to be "drafted."

A POPULAR FREE-THINKING RABBI.

OVER 80,000 votes were polled, at the recent election in Boston, in favor of Rabbi Schindler as member of the school-board,— 17,000 more than the total vote for Mayor. The rabbi was on every ticket, and the women's vote was as unanimous for him as the men's. The rabbi is a notable free-thinker; but his discourses are often in the Boston press, so that all must have known the character of the man whom they were putting on their educational committee!

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREE-RELIGION."

UNDER this heading Dr. Francis E. Abbot will begin, in our next number, a series of brief papers to continue through the year, with the probable exception of an issue or two in mid-summer. The papers will have a consecutive order, and will sum up, as a whole, in the Doctor's always felicitious and helpful form, the studies and conclusions of a life-time of earnest thought on the matter in hand. That THE NEW IDEAL and its readers are unexpectedly fortunate in the promise of these important articles is well proved by the congratulatory correspondence which has come to us in response to the anticipation of the series, as expressed in our January number.

MISSIONARY FERVOR.

A THOUSAND "missionary" papers and magazines are published in this country regularly,— *and are well supported* in their continuously masterful propagation of obsolete theology and religion falsely so called. Every one of them, moreover, from time to time taunts "Liberalism" on its "illiberality" in supporting the propagation of a religion worthy of the name. Shall a "New Ideal" in missionary fervor ever come to Liberalism? If a live dog is better than a dead lion, is not an active orthodoxy better than a supine heterodoxy? "Next to being Servetus, who was willing to be burned for the sake of his faith, we would be Calvin, who was willing to burn him."

THE BROOKLYN EVOLUTION ESSAYS.

IT will not, we think, be deemed a misuse of the editorial columns, if we here call attention to the advertisement, on another page, of the first of the Brooklyn Evolution Essays. The high value of the series warrants the notice, and the lectures merit the attention of every student of modern thought. After the notices in our January issue, relative to these Essays, were in the press, we made arrangements for the publishing of the pamphlets regularly, in THE NEW IDEAL office. We shall be glad for freedom in thought, and for truth in constructive religion, if every reader of THE NEW IDEAL becomes also a subscriber for and reader of this series.

MR. UNDERWOOD IN THE FIELD.

IF Boston lost something when Mr. Underwood went West to edit *The Open Court;* and if the cause of Liberalism in Chicago lost something when again a change came, the country at large may meet a higher benefit,— since Mr. Underwood has now the opportunity of making extended lecture-trips. Papers of late date from Oakland, California, speak of large audiences greeting him there, *and of commendatory remarks from a Christian clergyman* following one of the lectures! "I consider that I have gained much from the discourse," were some of the reverend gentleman's words, "and I agree with the speaker in the statements relative to the broadening influence of science. We cannot have too much of it." Surely some good thing may yet come even out of Nazareth, if a Christian clergyman can be as just as this to truth!

WHAT SHALL LIBERALS DO WITH THEIR CHILDREN?

IT is a great problem, this; in many respects a momentous problem. The future depends, largely, on its reasonable and *effective* solution. To every earnest, serious-minded free-thinker who is a mother or father, the question propounds itself ceaselessly and often painfully. Companionship with other children is necessary — we cannot make eremites of our boys and girls; nor could we if we would. Its social contacts, moreover, are a large part of the child's education, not alone its amusement and recreation. But "church" affiliations are, generally speaking, out of the question; and as for "Sunday-schools," they are, in their "teachings," as at present conducted, a bane, a hold-back, a standing misrepresentation of modern knowledge, a mockery and burlesque of ethics and religion. "Universalist" Sunday-schools are, in all main points, indistinguishable from and wholly as undesirable as those most rigidly orthodox; and even in the large majority of "Unitarian" Sunday-schools the weakest prostitution of Nature's mighty and perennial "miracle-working" is still openly taught, in the shallow fabrications of wine-water prestidigitation, water-walking, bread-multiplying, and tomb-rending; while the basis of good morals and human helpfulness is still unblushingly placed in some ancient smoking mountain-top authority or deity-demanded reverence, rather than in the imperative and sacred call of the universe to man to perfect

himself and to bring with him, also, all his fellows into the equal blessedness of perfect accord with the nature of things. What, then, shall liberals do with their children?

In our next issue, either editorially or through some competent contributor, we shall endeavor to have the problem of this paragraph answered, at least in part. Or we may begin a series of articles on the subject, by different writers. The matter is to-day taxing the minds of many. There is a solution of it somewhere.

A MAN AMONG MEN.

To STRIVE for the perfect is the life of our life. But here is a religious exchange again exhorting, "'Be ye perfect,' said Jesus; and Jesus, being God, and therefore himself being perfect, has a right to call us also to perfection." Is it worth while to affirm yet again that in such argument as this there is no shadow of logic or reason? And "religion" should at least have a *shadow* of reason. Perhaps as long as such things continue to be said, some better thing should be shown: and maybe those who are patient to answer do not altogether waste energy. Anybody, with legions of angels to do his bidding, could perform mighty works of love; so anybody who, being perfect, *couldn't* sin, could remain pure, and noble, and patient. But what grace or beauty or virtue were there in that? It is only when any particular leader of men is seen to be, like all the world's other great leaders, a man among men; a man tried and tempted, in all points, as we are; a man subject to the physical laws which compel our bodies, and to the moral laws which compel our souls,—it is only then that he is seen by us to be worthy our admiration and love. It is only then that he comes to be an example for us to imitate. It were useless to show us a god, and say, "Behold! here is your pattern!" We are not gods.

THE ETHICS OF MR. SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY.

THE justice which "theology" has always denied to Mr. Spencer's system of thought, especially in the matter of "the outcome of his ethics," unbiased students of his philosophy are now slowly giving it. Mr. Thompson is one of the few who see underneath, and here are his words:—

Mr. Spencer's practical philosophy has been pretty fully set forth in his "Data of Ethics," and in his various essays. In ethics he holds that conduct should be estimated and governed by the rule of the highest utility, but believes that an ideal social state, involving an ideal development of character, should always be kept before the mind as a standard, to furnish that "counsel of perfection" which his opponent, Green, urges as necessary though from an entirely different point of view. This ideal morality is likely to be realized in the course of evolution, but until there is reached such a state of society as to make it practicable we must also recognize a code of relative ethics by which to conform our actions to our circumstances, and aid, so far as those circumstances will allow, the progress of mankind to the most perfect conditions. This code will involve a varying compromise between egoism and altruism. Mr. Spencer thinks the antagonism between these two will eventually disappear, because the working of social forces must inevitably produce the result that men will increasingly find their happiness in the welfare of others. Their egoistic gratifications will become sympathetic. Their highest selfish delight will merely be the lust of making other people delighted. In a word, individual happiness will only be complete in the social happiness. Mr. Spencer is surely right in this view. We never can wholly eliminate self-regarding ends. Our own action must ultimately be directed to securing our own pleasure and preventing pain to ourselves. But it is quite possible for us to so form our characters that our highest pleasure is the pleasure and welfare of others; and in the measure that this is completely achieved is the conciliation between egoism and altruism perfected.

"AGNOSTICISM."

THE term "Agnosticism," which, for very many earnest thinkers, really seemed for a long time to have something of a divine halo about it, is evidently fast becoming a very indefinite and unprecise term. The aureole, as in the case of ancient saints and saviours, is transforming from halo to haze. There is agnosticism of the hard, dry, hopeless, indifferent kind; the kind Dr. Abbot probably had mostly in mind in his essay in our January number;—a kind certainly deserving of however severe blow he gave it. But such is not the only kind. There is also the reverent, active, hopeful, expectant, trustful agnosticism,—an agnosticism worthy even of a yet nobler setting forth than Mr. A. N. Adams gives it in the present issue: an agnosticism not *content* with its ignorance, much less listless in it, but earnestly making the most, both intellectually and spiritually, of all present light and opportunity, carrying its devotion also into individual morals and the social good, and at the same time ever believing in and *seeking for* newer, higher, truer knowledge, a little further and yet a little further dispelling of ignorance, in order that higher intellectual and spiritual growth still, and purer, nobler life in accordance with the beneficent law of the Whole of Things as this law shall be more and more clearly seen, may ensue.

Are example and illustration necessary? What, then of the calm, serene, trustful lines in this very issue of THE NEW IDEAL, under the title "Expectation"? Yet they came to the editor, from their author, with the title "Agnosticism"! Having occasion to write to the sender, the editor incidentally remarked (for substance), "The lines are received and will be used;—but we think '*Trust*' would be fully as true and expressive a title as the one you give." It was not by any means our intention to imply that we wished to change the title,—we had no such thought; but back immediately came word authorizing such change. "Agnosticism," then, is but a synonym of "trust"! But we chose finally the title "Expectation,"—that also being another phase of "agnosticism," and the specifically hopeful, happy phase, as it seems to us, of Mr. Oborne's poem. And we know that he will accept this latter title as readily as either of the others.

Note in particular, perhaps, these closing lines in the verses:

> "Trusting a power I blindly see,
> I bend to its compelling sway
> And journey on resignedly."

Agnosticism, truly! As certainly, however, *not* "intolerable anguish," "a stoical suppression of the power to feel," nor "the extinguishing of all high thought." And if the editor, for the sake of illustration, may refer to his own lines, "The Transcendent Possibility,"—written one or two years ago but now first printed,—he would say that here also is "Agnosticism." The verses were determined on for the place they have in this issue weeks before either this editorial or Mr. Adams' article in the present number was thought of; and if there is anything painful or discouraging in the verses the editor fails to find it there.

> "His arm for pillow—this was all;
> Uncovered lay he on earth's breast:
> *But rested he with gracious rest,*
> *And o'er him gleamed the star-set wall.*"

"Agnosticism"—yes. Here, however, is *peace*, if not "omniscience." And here is hope, and a satisfying vision of Nature's marvelous possibilities,—her promise and her potency,—if indeed not demonstrated deific angle and hypothenuse.

We count it fortunate that we are able to add in this place, concerning the arch-agnostic of the age, the following very gratifying passages from Mr. Thompson's admirable essay, the first in the Brooklyn series, elsewhere spoken of. The sentences come in here as if prepared for us:—

Mr. Spencer's religious views are readily discernible to any one who has read the "First Principles" of his philosophy. Supernatural revelations he rejects; but to say that his scheme has no place for religion would be a gross misstatement. He makes all nature dependent upon and the outcome of a Power which is not and cannot be known, but whose existence must ever be postulated. Toward this Power, faith may turn, but what it is must forever transcend our knowledge; and respecting its nature or attributes, those relating to personality included, no affirmations or denials can be made. This is strictly Agnostic doctrine, and it presents to us the famous "Unknowable," respecting which so much has been said.

If the term be used absolutely, "Unknowable" is not a proper characterization. To be able to affirm *that* it exists, implies some knowledge of it; and it is a contradiction to declare that anything which can be made an object of cognition is unknowable. In a relative sense, however, the term may be used to mean something existing, but beyond the reach of further objectification, or of cognition by human intelligence as we have experience of it. This, no doubt, is what Mr. Spencer intends. The true statement is that we know the existence of an Ultimate Reality which is known as such but not otherwise known.

Here is our philosopher's creed, in a passage from "First Principles": "Thus the consciousness of an Inscrutable Power, manifested to us through all phenomena, has been growing ever clearer; and must eventually be freed from its imperfections. The certainty that on the one hand such a Power exists, while on the other hand its nature transcends intuition and is beyond imagination, is the certainty towards which intelligence has from the first been progressing. To this conclusion science inevitably arrives as it reaches its confines; while to this conclusion religion is irresistably driven by criticism. And satisfying, as it does, the demands of the most rigorous logic at the same time that it gives the religious sentiment the widest possible sphere of action, it is the conclusion we are bound to accept without reserve or qualification."

We cannot forbear to present also the following thrillingly eloquent conclusion of Mr. Thompson's essay,—Agnosticism run wild? nay, the flower and fruit of agnosticism,—fragrant, nutritious, satisfying:—

These, in barest outline, are some of the things that Herbert Spencer has begun to teach the human race. The fields of knowledge are wide, and many have been the laborers therein. We appreciate and admire the work of the scientist who increases the stock of human learning in any of its departments. Agassiz, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Wallace, and all the host of them, awaken our gratitude and command our reverence. But though we have traveled much in these realms of gold,

> "And many goodly states and kingdoms seen,"

profounder emotions are stirred when we contemplate Mr. Spencer and his work. We think no longer of the ingenious mechanisms and marvelous adaptations of nature; the wonderful order, the many beauties, the curious things revealed and displayed for our observation and study. Rather, it seems as if barriers were suddenly thrown down, and a vision opened of boundless knowledge and exhaustless being. Then, our past experience becomes merely the arch where-thro'

> "Gleams that untraveled world whose margin fades
> Forever and forever when we move."

Then feel we, rather,

> "Like some watcher of the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken."

Or, again, like Cortes,

> "When with eagle eyes
> He stood at the Pacific, and all his men
> Looked at each other with a wild surmise,
> Silent upon" that "peak in Darien."

And in the general discussion following the essay, also printed in the pamphlet from which we have already quoted, it was said, by Mr. Thomas Gardner:—

> Although no one has written on the subject of ethics in a simpler and clearer manner than Mr. Spencer, it has been his fate to be, whether wittingly or unwittingly, grossly and widely misunderstood; and it was refreshing to listen, to-night, to an exposition of his views on this crowning work of his life, wherein the really noble and tender sentiment underlying Mr. Spencer's speculation has been sympathetically presented. I am certainly of the opinion that the basis of his philosophy is a profoundly religious one, and look upon the attitude of the Agnostic, when confronted with the shadow of an unknowable and infinite deity, as pre-eminently reverential and worshipful. It is, I think, beyond question that all deep religious emotion finds its birthplace in a mystic region; and surely, in the noble range of the Evolution philosophy, there is a mystic region large enough to satisfy the aspirations of the most devout dreamer: in fact it is beyond the bounds of all time and space.

Let us have knowledge. By all means, let us have knowledge. And let us have philosophy—speculation; theory and induction, synthesis and deduction, when founded on scientific basis. And let us welcome and applaud, and crown with laurel and undying honor (as surely we will and as the world will), the thinker who, out of his many-year thought and his life-dream, shall be our Helper-On in the way of a formulated system. It is for this the world waits; and our "ideals," truly, can be firmly planted only on "ideas." But never has the world, thus far, had perfect vision,—yet has it never been without divine hope and cheer; it has enjoyed, and loved, and dreamed high dreams; and when, through the dying away of long-held "truth," enjoyment and love and the dreaming of high dreams have failed, or seemed to fail, mankind has—*found ever new basis*, and with fresh courage begun again to enjoy, and to love, and to dream yet higher dreams! And so will it ever be. "Agnostic," in some degree,—an ever-lessening degree as century on century has passed,—the world has necessarily always been: but the thinker and "formulator" has helped, and will still help; and, working together, men of all shades of thought and belief and hope, though indeed seeing now only "in part," may sometime, it is possible, see "face to face"; will, at least, certainly continue to see enough to tax to the utmost their every energy for right, and to the utmost their every intellectual possibility of growth.

ESSAY.

For *The New Ideal.*

POLITICS AND MORALS.

BY GEORGE W. BUCKLEY.

Before the State was the individual, with desire, and hope, and aspiration, and power of adapting means to ends. The plan of a State was in mind before it was a sociological fact. Every organ of it, every institution and law, originated in some individual's conception of means adapted to reaching ends he had at heart. It was first a private practice. Some one relatively superior to his fellows finds a course of action expedient for himself, and he thinks it good for others. It is adopted by others until deemed expedient for a whole community. It becomes a custom, or unwritten law, and finally a statute.

All laws have for their purpose the regulation of conduct in reference either to property or persons. In the primitive State both are subject to the disposition of the ruling power, which is usually a single will. About property and persons laws multiply and politics develop, progress being more and more in the direction of emphasizing the importance of persons.

Political government may be defined as a directive and restraining agency of co-operation for attaining general so-

cial ends, not supposed attainable, or so well attainable, by individual effort. It probably originated in the desire for protection and promotion of the interests of life and property. Individuals in a barbarous state soon perceived, by experience, the benefit to be gained by co-operation in obtaining food and defending themselves against enemies. They soon learned that they could more certainly attain security of life and property thereby, both as respected encroachment from within and without their community. But co-operation means a head to direct, and obedience on the part of those directed. It means the relinquishment, more or less, of personal independence, and a subordination of private to public interests.

In the winding and interlacing courses of history, we see, broadly speaking, three stages of political development. The first is the militant, or warfare, stage, when the controlling idea is to foster a hunting and fighting power in the community. Some nations never advance beyond this stage, as the ancient Peruvians and Spartans. Even Plato, in his Ideal Republic, provides as one of its four classes a warrior class.

The second stage is the industrial, where the chief end is wealth. The transition to this is, of course, by no means abrupt and rapid. Centuries elapse before the idea of creating wealth, as dominant in the community, supplants the idea of making warriors and fostering physical prowess. With the increased security from enemies without, a larger number devote themselves to the arts of peace. Trade, commerce and manufacturing grow into importance. Then, out of the bosom of the common people, sagacious wealth-makers arise. They have no outlet for their energy and worth in political life, and so the energy goes into trade. They become in time what is called the commercial class, and with the power of wealth secure representation in the government. They command recognition and privileges, and grow into a kind of second aristocracy,— an aristocracy having more of our respect than the former, since it rests upon some demonstrated talent and not upon the accident of birth and rank. This class now come to make the laws, and the laws take on the industrial character. They are framed to extend trade and commerce and manufacturing. Avarice may now dictate the policy of the State, and lead to injustice and oppression, and these in turn to rebellion of subjects. This was the case with England when she pushed her iniquitous protective system to the utmost limit, arousing against her her own sons and daughters over the sea. American revolution came of it, with the foundation of a State of larger liberty and opportunity.

Up to the present time, however, the politics of this new State, also, have turned on the production of wealth, together with, since Jackson's day, the spoils of office. We have witnessed a reign of cupidity not much, if any, less general and oppressive than in old England itself. The constitution of the United States was largely a compromise between the planting interests of the South and the manufacturing and commercial interests of New England. For the most part, the Southern States wanted freedom of trade, but slavery of persons, because they thought therein was more wealth for them. The Eastern States wanted slavery of trade, and possibly freedom of the slaves, not having slaves themselves. The Middle States wanted neither slavery of persons nor of trade. The navigation laws were dearer to the commercial class than human rights; and so the slave-trade clause got into the compact of government as the price of a power to regulate commerce. As the natural sequence of this, began, in the very first revenue debate, the mercenary strife and discord which have never ceased, between those who raise raw material and those who require it for manufacturing; between sections and classes, to see which should get the largest donation for their own industries. With rare exceptions, neither the representatives of the Southern agricultural regions, in working for low tariff, nor of the Northern manufacturing regions in equally strenuous efforts for high tariff, have been actuated by love of the common weal. The material interests of a locality or class have controlled them. For we are not unmindful that the lust for gain may move some individuals and nations to espouse free-trade, as well as others to espouse protection. America has maintained a colossal tariff-system because her controlling property interests have supposed there is more money in it. England overthrew it, largely because her controlling property-interests came to believe there was more money in free-trade. Richard Cobden and John Bright and John Stuart Mill may have been warmed by large and generous sympathies with human conditions everywhere; but John Bull in general was won over by the argument of the pocket-book. And we Americans have just enough of the John Bull still in our blood, just enough cupidity, to be open to persuasion on any economic or financial question with exceeding slowness through any other channel of appeal.

Neither one of the two great parties in current American politics dares rest its case with the voter on real principle and sense of justice and love. One puts into its platform a protection plank, the other a tariff-for-revenue plank,— and then both hedge toward some middle ground, lest they lose the election. As a rule, what a dearth of broad and generous reasoning in the political speeches of the day! The appeal is to private and class interest and sectional interest; to the manufacturer, or tradesman, or workingman, or consumer,— not to the sentiment of patriotism, not to the patriot himself. Vote our ticket, that you may have more pies and cakes on your table, not that American manhood and womanhood may be promoted! that you may have more money in pocket, not more knowledge and virtue in soul! Thus, our politics are mercenary. While the dominant end of the State is the production of wealth, we still linger in the second stage of growth.

But there is a third stage, and the signs of its coming are, through hope and faith, perceivable. This stage we will call the intellectual and moral. Montesquieu speaks of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, as three forms of government which are controlled by the three different principles of honor, moderation and equality. But there is a higher end than any one of these principles, which should be affirmed as the true end of all government,— namely, character, or culture. Upon this, not upon money, the State, for its perpetuity and all excellency, must rest.

The good or bad character of any State simply stands for so much good or bad character *in* the State. It has no more knowledge, power, or virtue, than exist in the *citizens*. The stream cannot rise higher than the fountain. As a governing organization the State simply concentrates power of mind and heart as diffused in the community. The policy of it is a compromise between private selfishness and unselfishness. It is a resultant of an intricate and varied play of all the forces and personal influences at work in society,— the resultant of all its conflicting wisdom and virtue, ignorance and vice. The ship of State is something like a boat towed by people on opposite sides of a stream, — going neither wholly to one side nor to the other, but in some intermediate course; only in the case of the State the towing forces are countless and unseen. Every individual is acting, more or less, as a "tower" to this State; for the status of every individual, whether voter or not, is correlated, to some extent, in its character.

To many, this will have the ring of truism in it, and might go without saying were it not for the fact that one of the most mischievous notions afloat, for multitudes of others, is that the State possesses some magic power of creativeness which does not exist in society itself, or in individuals. It is thought to be able to make wealth, or money, or work, or wages, or temperance, by law. If one can only get what he believes to be a good sentiment written in the statute

book, the evil will forthwith die. Perhaps his enthusiasm and persistence secure the statute. But, alas, it has no life in the hearts of any considerable number of his countrymen. Many seemed to be in sympathy with it, and ostensibly supported its adoption, who give no heed to its enforcement. The private sentiment has not come sufficiently to be public sentiment. Therefore the law is a dead-letter, and the work of reform must be still carried on with the individual.

The lesson of this is, that to have wise and good government we must have wise and good citizens. State and populace act and react upon each other; the better the one, the better the other. Since, then, the State can have no more power, wisdom or virtue than reside in its citizens, the cardinal duty of the governing and the governed is to build up the intellectual and moral forces, the manhood and womanhood, of the units which constitute the State. The true end of every civil and religious instrumentality, of every party and policy, is Character. The question to be propounded in the case of any movement under consideration is, Does its tendency lie on the side of incarnating into human life the attributes of truth, self-reliance, honesty, justice, love, good-will? After this fashion should we arraign our party or church. And if the reply that seems to come to us be negative, we should endeavor, first, to bring about the desired change by the method of working from the inside; and if that fails, then will we go outside, to some other party or church, if we can find or make, or think we can find or make, a better one.

Every citizen in this free, or partially free, America, should feel that he is not only privileged, but is in duty bound, to place himself toward the institutions of society in the attitude of a critic; — a critic not unfriendly and carping, but sympathetic, and earnestly solicitous for progress and the general weal. It is safe to assume that social institutions always need perfecting. The work of reformation in State or church is never done; and if we do not see it so, this is all the more evidence of need of reform in ourselves. Let not the generous and hopeful young man permit the genial current of his soul to be frozen up by the cynical and wintry conservatisms about him. Let him not be alarmed at the epithets, "impracticable," *doctrinaire*, radical. The State and church which now loom up only in his dream and aspiration, may, before the sands of his life run out, be as real and concrete on earth as those which now the conservative so stoutly defends.

> "Every gift of noble origin
> Is breathed by hope's perpetual breath."

Stand by the integrity of your own being. Have hope and faith, and power of waiting; for politics especially are controlled by expediency. The inalienable right and duty of every individual is to give the fullest expression possible to his own higher self. This should determine his religious duties and affiliations. Under such regime as this, we shall in politics make use of party-organization to embody our sentiment of patriotism, justice and all good. The party shall be solely a means to an end, the end being the general application of some great principle or principles, some high convictions, to the practice of the body politic. Those who see this so now, and act accordingly, constitute a small minority in the State. By far the largest body of citizens, the vast majority of voters, act on the supposition that the party is the end itself. This majority view as the end of political contests the enthronement or perpetuation of their party in power; and to that end methods are encouraged, the like of which if applied in private affairs would be considered by many of them reprehensible; — as though sin were any the less sinful because done in the name of organization; and as though the sanction of the multitude, having at best but a low standard of ethics, diminishes the individual's responsibility for wrong doing. This general class of voters invest the party with a personal kingship that claims their allegiance under all circumstances. The monarchical fiction which once prevailed, that "The king can do no wrong," is changed into "The party can do no wrong." Whatever is put forth in its name has the seal of unquestioned authority and determines the political action. Sometimes this is carried to the extent of binding the individual to support a "ticket" before even the names of the nominees are put upon it. Whatever your real mind toward the candidate or the platform, political orthodoxy says, "Wheel into your party's line. The majority rule. Their action has the seal of wisdom, which you are bound to respect." Thus we have, in political campaigns, the grievous spectacle of citizens maintaining and propagating opinions, the diametrical opposite of those to which they gave expression before their party-convention met. This view of party as an end, instead of as a means, makes it the frequent sport of mere circumstance, of local or temporary feeling, popular whim, or personal ambition.

In striking contrast to the large class of voters is a very small class, who contemplate the party as an instrumentality made for the citizen, and not the citizen for it. With this class, party is entitled to their allegiance only so long as it is regarded the most available agency of their own political convictions. They acknowledge the decision of no "organization" in politics or religion as having sovereign authority over the tribunal of their conscience. They must be true to themselves, let come however wide a breach with the party, or whatever rupture with dear associations. When they analyze their own consciousness, and perceive certain principles, they look without for the means of getting them into operation — for making the word flesh. To these principles they must conform their action. In politics, if there come a stage — as was the case with both Gladstone and Disraeli early in their career, when they changed about, the one from Tory to Whig party, the other from Whig to Tory; or as was the case with Charles Sumner when he abandoned the Whigs — if there come a stage when they think these principles can best be realized through another party than the one with which they have been acting, they see no valid reason why they should not ally themselves with it, but most excellent reasons why they should. So long as they are acting in harmony with to-day's convictions, — the true consistency, — they care little about that apparent inconsistency with yesterday which gives most people such deep concernment, and which a German historian has significantly observed is a "terror" to the American politician.

Such is the elastic and righteous relation which, it seems to this class, ought to be held with party-organization. But, of course, such a stand requires some sacrifice of material interests — sometimes very much of sacrifice. In the case of a public man, it may require the sacrifice of political and social advantages much prized by him.

We count it one of the most blessed outcomes of man's moral nature that this earth of ours is pressed by the footsteps of the so-called "impractible," the "doctrinaire," the "theorist"; for to this very class do we not owe the inauguration of the most glorious movements for civil and religious liberty that have ever expanded the soul of man? The corner-stone of the new State and the new church — has it not always been laid by one of these?

Therefore, one of the most hopeful signs of the present is the growth of the independent class in American politics. They are the fountain of political reform. They keep the old party organizations on their better behavior; and good government may almost be said to bear a direct ratio to the power they exercise. They never believe in the "let well enough alone" policy; for things are never well enough. There is always something better to strive after, and they see it. The better which is realized to-day is only a stepping-stone to the yet higher good of to-morrow. Repose, even on the heights, is death, except as giving strength to renew the upward-striving. These find no rest "on the

bosom of the fathers,"—true veneration for whom is to put at compound interest the legacy they have left; as did not those fathers themselves with their inheritance? What matters it that modern fathers are voting the same old ticket they have voted for twenty or forty years, and which they swear they will vote as many years to come, should they live that long? Are the fathers wiser than the sons, who have not alone the light of the past, but also the spirit of the present and the dreams of the future? Shall the fading light of yesterday's funeral-tapers be the only glow in the grander temple of to-day? This "impracticable," "doctrinaire" class are the cradle-rockers of the new party of progress—yea, they are party-makers, and only in a high sense party-breakers. They are the first to join and work with the "organization" in the day of sacrifice, when the thorny path is to be trodden. They are, also, among the first to leave it, when they think it has served the purpose of its being, and the strangling hands of corporate or personal ambition, or private interest, are laid upon it.

Here let us focus the leading thoughts thrown out in this essay. *First:* The State is an agency of co-operation, called into being by individual wants and aspirations becoming the prevailing wants and aspirations of a community. *Second:* It has three marked stages of development, with corresponding change of aim,—the aim being, first, to make warriors, then wealth, and finally Character. *Third:* A political party is an agency for securing the realization of private convictions of what the State ought to be; and thus we should change our party affiliations whenever by so doing we believe we can get our convictions nearer realized.

In conclusion, this is the thought we would emphasize: that we Americans should propose, as the end for which our State exists, the upbuilding of wisdom and virtue. And that to this end we should discountenance all injustice, fraud, and violation of personal liberty, whether committed in the agricultural "black" regions of the South, or the manufacturing and commercial districts of the North; whether the wrong be the bribery of a voter, or of a legislature, the gerrymandering of electoral districts, or the exclusion of Territories from the Union of States when entitled to admission,—and whether committed in the interest of our own party or any other party, our own section or any other section, our own class or any other class. To this end, moreover, we will maintain as sacred the integrity of our own mind and conscience—in no wise infringing on the right of others to do the same. And to this end we will seek to extend private intelligence and rectitude. In this the safety and worth of the Republic lie. In this the famous lines of Berkeley, written nearly two centuries since, shall find fulfilment:

> "Westward the course of Empire takes its way,
> The first four acts already past;
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

SOMETHING BETTER.

"WHAT will you give us in place of Christianity?" is the almost invariable question put by the defeated disputant who has failed to maintain the truth of "Revelation." And he usually adds, "At any rate, I think I'll hold on to it until you can show me something better." Voltaire's answer to this question was, "A ferocious animal has sucked the blood of your relatives. I tell you to rid yourself of this beast and you ask me what you shall put in its place. You have the face to ask what you must put in place of your fables!" Ingersoll's reply is, "What do you want in place of small-pox?" But until the Christian has learned that his "most holy religion" is properly to be compared to a wild beast or a virulent disease, such answers do not satisfy him, and he must be met on his own ground by the presentation of something better.

Rationalism claims that it has found something better than Christianity, and does not fear to meet the challenge. It recognizes also the naturalness of the demand, and learns from it the successful method of propagandism. The child is easily induced to part with its treasure when a more tempting object is offered; whereas the effort to obtain possession without compensation would endanger the quiet of the neighborhood. Abuse a man's ancestral home, and prejudice and indignation are aroused which obscure reason; but show him a modern house, and its attractiveness and convenience overcome the bias of habit and sentiment. Spencer says, "Not by authority is your sway to be obtained, neither by reasoning; but by inducement." Something better is the lever of progress, the magnet of reform, the key to improvement, the secret of success.

What, then, can Rationalism offer the Christian that will appear to him to be something better?

First, it offers a true conception of the order of the universe, in place of a false theory. It shows that natural law, cause and effect, rule the world, and not miracle and magic operated by the arbitrary will of a supreme being. All religions are founded upon a cosmogony, and of all things it is important that the foundation should be right. Rationalism rests upon evolution as the explanation of the progress of the universe to its present condition, whereas Christianity is founded upon the idea of special creation. The scholarship of the world is all on the side of evolution, and, if true, the foundation of Rationalism is as much better than that of Christianity as the true is better than the false. Secondly, it offers honesty, in place of fancy or dissimulation, with respect to the mystery of origins. It says, "I don't know the first cause, but if this now inscrutable secret is to become known it will be by man's persistent study of nature." The Christian says, "God made it," but fails to tell us who made God, and merely substitutes one mystery for another. It is surely better to frankly confess ignorance, or strive for knowledge, than to rest in an unintelligible explanation. Again, in place of God, Rationalism offers Good, which is what God was meant to be, and perhaps was when men made him. He was men's ideal of what was best in their times. But the Hebrew ideal, with its Christian additions, is thousands of years old. Meantime Good has improved, while God has remained stationary and has become in some aspects comparatively bad. The Christian God no longer represents the highest conceptions of Good, and we offer the Christian the last edition of God with the original title (Good) restored. Once more, in place of man's fall, we offer the glad tidings that man has risen; in place of hell, we affirm the natural retribution of ill doing; in place of despair for the future happiness of the vast majority of the human race in the past and present, we reject the infamous dogma of their hopeless doom, and substitute hopefulness for the constant advancement of humanity as long as existence lasts. We are honest enough, moreover, to declare that no one knows how long it lasts, or what are to be its conditions, beyond the effect of this principle of natural progress; but we maintain that the loss of a selfish, exclusive heaven for the few, is a small price to pay for the extinction of the almost universal fires of hell. In place of sin, we put imperfection; crime we regard as disease, and our remedy for both is knowledge, instead of "grace" or vindictive punishment. In place of salvation by the death of an innocent divine saviour, we put the uplifting of man by the earnest lives and researches of his fellows. We substitute the brotherhood of man for the election of a few and the reprobation of the many; and, instead of selfish "looking to the saviour," we teach the privilege of service, and urge each to be the saviour of his fellows from ignorance, the source of all ills, thus inculcating altruism instead of egoism.

Even in the sphere of consolation Rationalism offers something better than belief in "divine providence," "trust in the Father," "submission to the divine will." It relieves the mind from the uncertain hope or fearful dread of arbitrary interference with the course of Nature, and gives assurance of a settled order and the unhindered sequence of cause and effect. It saves the mind from the agonized effort to interpret "God's purposes" in affliction, and points out the true cause of all evils, thus educating men to avoid their recurrence, or teaching resignation to the inevitable without the perplexity of looking beyond Nature's laws. A security is thus given to intelligent effort, and a confidence is felt in right conduct, owing to the conviction that there is no miraculous interference with Nature's order, either in compassion or in wrath.

The Liberal Christian may ask, What will you give in place of Jesus as an example? We answer, We will keep all that is good in the story of Jesus, and add to it the best deeds and sentiments of modern heroes, making thus a better ideal of true manliness. We will point to Thomas Paine, who said, "The world is my country, to do good is my religion"; to Benjamin Franklin, who refused to take out patents for his inventions, because, "as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours, and this we should do freely and generously"; to Abraham Lincoln, who emancipated the slave, and, with respect to the future, said, "It must be all, or none"; to Charles Darwin, who studied and observed; to Humboldt, who explored; to Edison, who invented; to Peter Cooper, Girard, Smithson, Peabody, Lick, who founded libraries, schools, museums and observatories; to John Howard, and Florence Nightingale, who relieved distress; to Harriet Martineau, Marian Evans, and Miss Muloch, who wrote helpful words. If any one now did and said many of the things ascribed to Jesus, he would be considered a very objectionable character; and if a true biography of him could be obtained we should without question find him as imperfect as other men. We can secure a far grander inspiration from the study of the flowers of excellence that have bloomed in the nineteenth century, than from contemplation of the abnormal growth of Judean legend.

In place of the church, Rationalism would substitute the lyceum, club, association, and change the dreary "service of God" into the conference, debate, concert, lecture,—all for the diversion and benefit of man. In place of the minister, it would give—nothing. People could be born, married, live and die, without him, and neighborly sympathies will be better exercised when consolation is not left to "professionals."

With the progress of society in mind, Rationalism promotes reform, while Christianity teaches submission to the powers that be,—contentment with such things as we have. It is significant that in political revolution it is the "free-thinker" who is usually the leader. Franklin, Paine, Jefferson, Washington, were the chief founders of the American Republic, and Lincoln presided at its second birth. Mazzini and Garibaldi are the heroes of United Italy; Rousseau, Voltaire and Victor Hugo have been the chief inspirers of Democratic France, and the protestors against Russian tyranny are represented by Bakounine and Krapotkine.

So in economic reform,—Rationalism offers co-operation, and association for mutual service, in place of competition for gain; and its promoters are usually sincere rejectors of Christianity,—as Robert Owen, Holyoake, John Stuart Mill, Proudhon, Lasalle, Karl Marx, and now, in England, Morris, Hyndman, and the band of educated supporters of Scientific Socialism.

The practical aim of Rationalism is well expressed in the words of Mazzini, "We propose progressive improvement, the overthrow of all idolatries, shams, lies and conventionalities. We want man to be, not the poor, passive, cowardly, phantasmagoric unreality of the actual time, thinking in one way and acting in another, bending to power which he hates or despises; carrying empty Popish or Thirty Nine Article formularies on his breast, and none within. We would make man a fragment of the living truth,—a real individual being linked to collective humanity; the bold seeker of things to come; the gentle, mild, loving yet firm, uncompromising apostle of all that is just, heroic and good."

We offer to the Christian the only principles of construction that have ever been effective: intelligent, earnest effort, in accordance with nature's methods,—the means of all progress in the past, and the only hope of improvement to come. One who has read Dr. Francis E. Abbot's masterly "Impeachment of Christianity" scarcely needs to be told that there is something better; but we may boldly declare that Rationalism provides everything better.

Robt. C. Adams.

LUCIFER'S UMBRELLA.

A FANTASY OF ENFORCED CONSISTENCY.

PART I.

The church-bells had just begun to ring, and Lucifer was meditatively whistling "In the Sweet Bye-and-Bye," as he gave the last touch to a new umbrella. He had made the stick of wood from a pulpit where Boston clergymen had expounded the Bible sanction of slavery to admiring crowds. The ribs, springs and ferule were forged out of John Brown's pikes; and the cover was a piece of rich silk which a Maryland belle had kept for years, ready to be made up as soon as the Confederates took Washington, and had dyed black at last. But what sort of handle would go best with the rest of the work? After a moment's pause, he opened a box in the corner of the shop. A snake thrust forth her head. It was the same serpent that had tempted Adam and Eve. In a few moments more her head was screwed on at the top of the stick; and the power of her persuasive eloquence was added to the mighty memories embodied in the work. "There," said Lucifer, "that will make all who handle it act consistently. People who follow their fine theories only half-way, and so never get out of the safe, beaten track, will have to go where they belong at last."

Half an hour later he was marching, in extremely elegant but perfectly unobtrusive attire, into his favorite church,—that of a stout, fat old doctor of divinity who, while constantly preaching the holiness of poverty and temptations of riches, had made a great fortune out of shrewd speculations, and who mixed together in his sermons the most revolutionary theories with the most familiar phrases out of the old creeds, so that some of his hearers worshiped him as one of the staunchest of the old stand-bys, and others gloried in him as the mightiest prophet of the new dispensation. This morning he showed, by particular request, what is the real meaning,—that is, the modern meaning,—of the expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple at Jerusalem. "All religions are transitory; but religion is eternal. Its permanent element is the spirit of Christ; that brotherly love which makes us give to him that asketh, and share our possessions with all who need our help. No matter what perishes, while this endures."

The sermon was heartily applauded, by people who had so little idea of following it that they all hurried off, as soon as they caught sight of the sky and saw that it was heavily overcast. The doctor came out last of all, and stood for a moment, looking at the clouds, and wondering whether it would do to try to get home without an umbrella. He cast his eyes hither and thither, searching in vain for some familiar face. To his great relief, a gentleman who had past out just before him turned, and said, with a bow: "Perhaps you do not recognize me, Doctor; but I have heard you preach often, and with such delight that I must

take the liberty of pressing on you the loan of this umbrella. I room at a hotel so near here that I can easily do without it; and you will allow me the pleasure of calling for it to-morrow."

The doctor thanked him, and accepted the umbrella without hesitation, according to the professional habit of taking the text, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," backwards. He did not even notice how the red eyes twinkled in the umbrella's snake-like head.

He was walking with it as a cane, and at a great pace, towards his horse-car, when a ragged woman, with a sick child in her arms, stopped him with a piteous cry for help. He was accustomed to refer all such applicants to the agents for the Associated Charities; but the spell of Lucifer's umbrella was already upon him. He pulled out his pocket-book, without remembering that it was unusually full, thrust it into her thin hand, and rushed off.

Soon the rain began to fall, drop by drop; and he stopped to unroll the umbrella. As he did so, a little boy met him, crying, and he recognized his artistic daughter's pet model. The poor fellow said that he and his mother and brothers and sisters would all be turned out into the street at daylight next morning, unless they could pay ten dollars, due for rent. The doctor's money was all gone, but unhesitatingly he gave the boy his gold watch and chain, to satisfy the landlord until his daughter could pay the bill.

He was trudging on less rapidly than before, for it had now been raining fiercely for some time, and he had become thoroughly heated with exercise as well as with the spirit of Christ, when a thinly-dressed man, wet to the skin, asked his aid. It needed but a few words to get the doctor's new coat, of heavy broadcloth, on the man's shivering shoulders. Its former wearer felt warmer than ever until he suddenly remembered that he had missed his car while talking with one of those whom he had just helped, and now found that the air was growing keen and chilly under the pouring rain. It was not safe for him to walk home, or still less to stand still in his shirt-sleeves. Where could he find shelter? There was no friend's house in sight,—not even a stable. But there, close at hand, stood a church with open doors.

He rushed in, and saw before him a crowded congregation. In the dim distance was an altar, glittering with lighted candles, crucifixes, etc.; and there stood a richly robed priest, reading mass. Close at hand was a table, covered with coins and bank-bills, which two eager men were separating into heaps for counting. As they did this, they rejoiced with each other on the "big haul" they had made in spite of the weather, and congratulated themselves that they would take in more still, next Sunday, if it were fine. Their voices almost drowned the chant of the officiating priest. As the doctor stood listening, first to the service at the altar in Latin, and then to that at the money-table in English, the memory of Jesus in the temple rushed upon him, and he felt an irresistible impulse to do as Jesus had done. "It is written, 'This is my Father's house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves,'" shouted he, and kicked the table over.

The bills flew right and left; the coins rolled to and fro. The men in charge rushed to pick up the money. The boys on the back seats flocked to help. The doctor strode straight up the broad aisle, waving over his head the umbrella, which seemed tipped with fire. The priest at the altar dropped his book, and ran into the sacristy with a wild cry of "The Devil! the Devil!" Many of the congregation cried out these same words, as the big, red-faced man went straight up to the altar, swept it bare of candlesticks and crucifixes at a single sweep of the terrible umbrella, and then turned round to thunder out curses upon all idolaters. Never had the doctor argued or expostulated more eloquently. But, alas, nobody listened. The people stopped their ears and hurried out, knocking each other over in their haste, and long before the speaker approached his peroration, he had been hand-cuffed by the police. Messengers were sent at his request, from the station-house, to some of his deacons and trustees; but they rejected the whole story as too improbable, and did nothing. His daughter had gone straight from the church, just as the rain was beginning, to read Browning with some friends, whom she quitted, late in the afternoon, only to take supper with a Buddhist missionary. It was not until after her return, late in the evening, that her father was released; and by this time he had suffered so much, from shame and discomfort (and, besides, he no longer had the umbrella in his possession!) that he was glad to submit to the only condition on which the Catholic priest and church-officials could be persuaded not to prosecute him,—his departure at once from the country to Europe, for a year at least.

FRED. MAY HOLLAND.

[To be continued.]

EXPECTATION.

AS MARINER, on some lone sea,
In quest of undiscovered shore,
Still wonders what the clime may be
Of regions he may soon explore,—
So I, adown the drift of time,
With calm that comes as evening nears,
In vain would know of that new clime
Tow'rd which I bear my freight of years.

At times, in dim, uncertain light,
A visioned prescience, ill defined,
Sweeps vaguely o'er my mental sight,
A misty mirage of the mind.
Nor hope nor fear impedes my way;
Trusting a power I blindly see,
I bend to its compelling sway
And journey on resignedly.

ANDREW OBORNE.

THE DEPENDENCE OF ETHICS.

THE possibility of ethics, as the science of human conduct and character, is conditioned upon clear recognition of these five fundamental facts of the universe:—

1. NECESSITY: Ethical Law both above and in the human Self—universal reality of Duty or Obligation grounded in the Nature of Things.

2. FREEDOM: Possibility of Obedience or Disobedience to Ethical Law—Autonomy of the human Self or Self-Determination of Conduct.

3. SELF-ACTIVITY: Actuality of Obedience or Disobedience to Ethical Law—Realization or Non-Realization of the Ideal—Self-Creation and Fixity of Character.

4. SELF-JUDGMENT: Necessary Self-Trial in the court of Conscience—Necessary Self-Verdict on Conduct and Character under self-recognized Ethical Law.

5. UNIVERSAL JUDGMENT: Necessary Trial of each by the Conscience of All—Necessary Universal Verdict on Conduct and Character under universally recognized Ethical Law.

In other words, we know ourselves to be bonnd by a moral law superior to any or all individuals as such; we know that we can either obey or disobey this law; we know that we do either obey or disobey it; we know that we do and must sit in judgment upon ourselves; we know that our neighbors do and must sit in judgment upon us. These are no metaphysical abstractions; they are facts of our commonest experience, facts impossible to deny without absurdity, facts fundamental to our human world and for that reason fundamental to the science of ethics. *Ethical law*, grounded in the nature of things, in the essential constitution of the universe itself; *ethical freedom either to obey or to disobey it*, grounded in the constitution of man as a part of the universe; and *ethical judgment of conduct and character*, grounded alike in the constitution of the universe and in the constitution of man, as united indissolubly in the

court of conscience,—in other words, human freedom, human obligation, and human responsibility, existing under cosmical law which human nature did not enact and cannot repeal,—these are the primordial facts which every genuine system or code of ethics must recognize, found upon, and comprehensively interpret.

Out of an unethically constituted universe there could by no possibility proceed an ethically constituted humanity. Yet humanity is an ethically constituted society of ethically constituted beings. It is science itself which demands some rational explanation of this ethical constitution of human society. The only conceivable or possible explanation of it must be the ethical constitution of the universe as a whole. No fountain can rise above its source. The agnosticism which denies all knowledge of the constitution of the universe as it is in itself, and refuses to admit its ethical character, makes a tremendous draft upon human credulity, and calls upon us to believe in a more stupendous miracle than any involved in the "special creation hypothesis." If it is irrational to believe in the "special creation" or "spontaneous generation" of an organic species out of inorganic matter, because science has shown that all life proceeds from previous life alone *(omne vivum ex vivo)*, it is far more irrational to believe that an ethically constituted race could have been produced by an unethically constituted universe. Such a prodigy would out-miracle miracle itself. The ethical constitution of humanity, as a present indubitable fact, is the strongest possible proof of the ethical constitution of the universe. The "*omne vivum ex vivo*" is no more solid an argument than the parallel *omne ethicum ex ethico.*

In fact, so irresistible is the force of this consideration that, in order to make good its denial of all ethical quality in the universe as a whole, agnosticism does not hesitate to deny all ethical quality in humanity as its product; for to deny the five facts above presented is to deny ethics outright, in substance if not in name. There are works enough that attempt to treat of ethics from an agnostic point of view; but, so far as they deny these five facts, they cease to be either ethical or scientific. What is to be noted here, however, is the necessity, recognized by agnosticism itself, of *adapting the theory of ethics to the theory of the universe.* This necessity is indeed paramount and all-controlling. Ethics must always depend upon philosophy, and cannot be either better or worse than this. A bad philosophy can only yield a bad ethics, and conversely. There is no road to a good ethics except through a good philosophy. If liberalism aspires to create that New Ideal which alone can guide our modern civilization out of its sordid meannesses, injustices, and inhumanities, shed the glory of grand hopes and lofty sentiments over the hard, impoverished life of toiling multitudes, and blend into one constellated blaze of beauty and power the eternal truths of the Ethics of Freedom, it can only create it out of a philosophy which sees deeper than agnosticism and reads the secret of man's being in the infinite, the eternal, and the divine.

Francis Ellingwood Abbot.

DARWIN.

[Revised by the Author, and read before the Brooklyn Ethical Association, Oct. 28, 1888. Now handed to The New Ideal for publication.]

He was a bold discoverer of the wise
And lucid order of the world, who bade
Men love the truth and speak it, and be glad
When each ideal of superstition dies.

The bigot cursed him, and, with flaming eyes,
Flashed hate upon him as one gone mad
With stark God-enmity, although he had
No blacker sin than honest hearts devise.

He was a hero for the right of men
To seek beyond their bibles, churches, creeds,
Beyond the tyrannous will of pope or priest,

Thought buried deep in nature; holy when
Revealed to us by any soul that reads
The infinite mind in God and man and beast.

Amid the harsh endeavors of old days
He strove supremely, and, with patient will,
Climbed masterfully onward, upward, till
He rose above men's bitter blame, or praise.

He probed our life along its secret ways;
Back through historic centuries, farther still,
He traced the simple, clear designs which fill
Creation, as they fill a robin's lays.

Amid the vast complexity of forms
Births from one primal ancestry he saw,
Like stars and planets from one chaos hurled,

And showed, through æons of fire and flood and storms,
The march of evolution and of law,
The beauty and the wonder of the world.

Ah, we could only listen when he told
How, through the antique ages to the new,
Life from a barbarous toil and struggle grew,
Like a staunch creeper from an arid mold—

How savage instinct in the strong and bold
Crushed out the weak, and how the mightier few
Roamed in their wild blood-thirstiness and slew
The fierce-fanged slayers that were Kings of old.

He pictured to our eyes the carnal strife,
The eternal woe and pathos of the earth,
And awful brooding death that makes us mute—

And thus he spoke the story of our life,
The growth of mind from some tenebrious birth,
The soul of man developed from the brute.

Since he has been, our craving thought has gained
Fresh wings and ampler airs; his valor broke
A slavery which had meekly worn its yoke,
A fear which rose to courage as it waned;

He shaped the years he lived in and attained
The leadership of people; he awoke
A dream of freedom with each measured stroke
Cut at the shackles which had held us chained.

Through him the science of the age became
A thing so near to every yearning heart,
So full of what the future man shall know,

That in our nineteenth century his proud name
Glows beacon-wise before us—is a part
Of all that song and wisdom can bestow.

Yes, wilder, sweeter than the music sung
By any lute-voice in this age of ours,
Sweeter than old child-fancy when it flowers
In trembling beauty on a poet's tongue,

Was that new cry within us when he flung
His thought to men—that precious thought which dowers
Life with a deeper sense of deathless powers,
Hope with the faith that it is ever young.

He lifted darkness from the face of time
And from the face of nature: we to-day,
Seeing with his sight, foretell a song shall rise

Out of his spirit of truth—a song sublime
As the wind's harmony heard far-way
Where the sea-surgings seem to meet the skies.

George Edgar Montgomery.

A JAPANESE PATRIOT.

It is rare that one meets with a nobler character than Tatui Baba, a Japanese political reformer who died recently in Philadelphia, and who was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery Oct. 6th, our national election-day. The life and work of this noble Japanese deserve to be more widely known. He was still a young man, hardly more than thirty-five years of age at the time of his death, yet for the past ten years he has been prominently engaged in a most important work in his own country, and has rendered distinguished service. He has been identified with what is known as the Popular Movement in Japan, and been an able advocate of the right of the people to a voice in legislation and government. As public speaker and editor he has been one of the prominent leaders of the liberal party in Japanese politics, and his untimely death will be a great loss to his party, and to the popular movement. A man of unusual ability, and highly educated, he devoted himself with great self-sacrifice to the work of political and social

reform, and died, as we shall see, a martyr to the cause he so faithfully served.

The autobiographical sketch which he left in manuscript reveals many interesting facts concerning his life. He was a child of one or two years of age when Commodore Perry sailed an American man-of-war into the harbor of Yedo (now Tokio), an event which may be said to mark the beginning of Japanese modern history. The feudal system, by which the country had been governed during its two hundred and fifty years of almost complete isolation from the rest of the world,—that is, during the reign of the Tokugawa Shoguns,—lasted until the restoration, fourteen years later (1868), so that Tatui Baba's education was wholly under the feudal system. Belonging to the Samurai class, or military nobility, he was brought up according to the ideas and customs of that class, and accordingly, from earliest childhood, he wore constantly two swords. Yet within the military exterior of the youth were native qualities of heart and mind that were the sure prophecy of a future noble career. A marked impression was made upon his youthful mind by the powerful personality of his grandfather, Baba Gemma, a man of great ability and learning, and occupying a high office in the government. His grandfather often entertained him with stories of the great leaders and heroes in Japanese history, and especially of the brave deeds of his own ancestors, some of whom had gained considerable renown in Japanese history. These stories filled him, as a child, he himself said, "with a desire to do something for his country," and "irresistibly led him, later on, into the domain of politics." At an early age he was sent to the best schools in Japan, to be educated, and in 1870 to England, where he remained for eight years, devoting himself to the study of law, politics, social science, and economics. While a student in London he published, in 1875, at the age of twenty-three, an able pamphlet on "The Treaty between Japan and England," which dealt with the subject with great clearness and force, and showed the injustice done by England to Japan in the treaty of 1858. With eloquent language and great earnestness he advocated that there should be a new treaty "on a footing of perfect equality and justice." During his student-life in London, apart from his regular studies, he published a Japanese-English Grammar, and devoted considerable time to a literary society of Japanese students which he had organized, and which was perhaps the first society of its kind among his countrymen. He was greatly influenced by the writings of John Stuart Mill, and was fond of attending all great political meetings, and the debates in the House of Commons.

After his return home, in 1878, he saw that a distinct desire was growing up among the people for a voice in legislation and government, and he immediately espoused the people's cause, and set himself to the task of educating them for their future political responsibility. He at once inaugurated a system of public lectures, which before had been unknown in Japan, and which soon became very popular. Tatui Baba himself, during the next few years, gave numerous lectures on political, social and economic subjects, in various cities, and sometimes had audiences of two to three thousand people. The government was finally induced to promise to establish a National Assembly in 1890; but afterwards, becoming alarmed at the strength of the popular movement, it enacted the most despotic laws against freedom of speech and of the press, political meetings were prohibited, the police were authorized to dissolve meetings of any kind if a speaker made even the slightest reference that seemed to reflect upon the government, and many editors and public speakers, known to be friendly to the popular movement, were sent to prison on the slightest pretext. Such is the condition of things in Japan at the present time. It is fully described in a pamphlet on "The Political Condition of Japan," printed by Tatui Baba in Philadelphia a short time before his death. This pamphlet may be had for fifteen cents a copy, of Albert K. Billstein, 704 Arch street, Philadelphia. It is the account of one who has been for several years an active leader of the popular movement, and who has been made acquainted, by personal experience, with the state of things he has described. For instance, what he says of the wretched condition of Japanese prisons, and of the cruel treatment of prisoners, he himself personally experienced. At two different times he was thrown into prison. The last and longest imprisonment, which hastened his death, was during the first six months of 1886. In the latter part of 1885 he was preparing to come to this country, and just as he was about ready to sail his arrest occurred, on suspicion that he was plotting against the government. Though in delicate health, he was kept in close confinement in a small room, with eight to ten other prisoners, for half a year without trial. At the end of that time he was brought before a secret tribunal, and, no case being found against him, he was liberated, with his health almost completely shattered.

He then came to this country, to recuperate if possible, and to study American institutions and enlist the sympathy of our people with the popular movement in Japan. He lectured in several of our large cities, but his feeble physical condition prevented his doing very much. Most of his time was spent in Philadelphia, where he made many warm friends, to whom his death will be felt as a deep personal loss. He was a member and regular attendant of the Ethical Society, which he joined soon after coming to Philadelphia. He had been brought up under the teachings of Confucius, and was himself an illustration of the fact that those teachings are capable of producing the highest type of moral character. His moral sentiments on all subjects were high and pure. His sympathies were with the poor and the oppressed. In his reform work he had a single eye to the future good of his people and country.

In the death of Tatui Baba the cause of free and liberal institutions in Japan has lost a valiant and faithful leader. But the cause which he so ardently espoused with tongue and pen will still live, and will triumph in time; and it will triumph all the sooner because Tatui Baba lived. The cause which he espoused, and for which he died, will be sustained and forwarded by others. He was, in the best sense of the word, a true Japanese patriot; and just as we now hold in high honor and grateful remembrance the names of our own patriotic forefathers, who established political freedom and popular government in this country, so, it is quite possible, when the cause of free and liberal political institutions shall finally triumph in Japan, the future generations of that country will honor and bless the name of our late noble friend, Tatui Baba. His death cannot but be deeply regretted by all friends of liberal institutions. Yet since it befell that Tatui Baba could not live personally to see the fruition of his hopes; that he could not live to take part in a national election in his own country; and that he was to die in a foreign land, it seems to me very fitting that he should have found his last resting-place in our free American soil, and that he should have been carried to that final resting-place on our national election-day.

"O Earth, thy past is crowned and consecrated
With its reformers, speaking yet, though dead;
Who unto strife and toil and tears were fated,
Who unto fiery martyrdoms were led.

"O Earth, the present too is crowned with splendor
By its reformers battling in the strife;
Friends of humanity, stern, strong, and tender,
Making the world more hopeful with their life.

"O Earth, thy future shall be great and glorious
With its reformers toiling in the van;
Till truth and love shall reign o'er all victorious,
And earth be given to freedom and to man."

SAMUEL BURNS WESTON.

PROSPECT vs. RETROSPECT.

A SPEAKER in the late campaign said that he had "found it impossible to make a living by scratching the grass around his grandfather's grave." A salutary discovery! leading to original effort and personal industry.

Equally true is it, that we cannot live morally and religiously on the virtues of our ancestors. They had their day; we have ours. They lived their lives; we must live our own. "Let us demand," said Emerson, "our own works and laws and worship." The sacredness of the older religious developments is to be freely admitted, but with no implication that the newer religious developments are less sacred. We ought verily to reverence the fathers, but not to put ourselves in bondage to them. Their walk in life's path we may admire, but under what obligation are we to put our feet into their footprints? There are, indeed, certain particulars in which we are bound to imitate, or emulate them. We ought to search after truth as earnestly as they; to acknowledge moral obligation as promptly; to espouse high purposes with as great enthusiasm; to walk in the ways of life with equal steadfastness. But as regards the ideas we are developing, the convictions fastening on our minds, the principles uncovered by the new days for the ordering of conduct, and the aims, motives, and methods upon which the modern judgment puts emphasis, we must assert a sublime age-egotism. This, in the belief that our chances for being right are as good as those of any men who have ever seen light, or groped about, in the dimness, to find an experimental way through life.

There is inspiration and prophetic promise in the fact that quite a long rank of men, strong and brave, is falling into line to march toward *The New Ideal*. This is in happy contrast to the attitude and action of the "as-it-was-in-the-beginning,-is-now,-and-ever-shall-be" kind of people, who do not so much as know that there is a new ideal. The misfortune of religion has been its persistent habit of ever looking backward. It has always been rehearsing a part learned centuries before. Its faith and hope have rested on a selection of old historic events or traditions. It has never put out into the open sea, but kept its boat tied to an ancient shore. This policy still prevails. We have recently witnessed the spectacle of a trans-continental dispute, between Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Gladstone, over certain stories in the ancient Hebrew bible. As if it were of the greatest importance whether Abraham or Jephthah did this or that, or whether Moses made, or did not make, any mistakes! Is Religion so shallow as this? Does it turn on such pivots? Nay, verily! For, whatever Abraham may have done, or did not do, and whatever Moses wrote, or did not write, here yet is the solar system, and the cosmos, and whatever is behind; and here is the earth; and here is man; and here are right and wrong, and good and evil; and here is life to live, with all its turmoil of works and cares, its burning or blessing passions, its threatened dangers or its outlook toward possible beatitudes. For either problems, or aims, or motives, we have, surely, no need to borrow from men long dead.

A scheme of religion, or a system of morality, is not worthy of much attention if the reasons for it are all, or mainly, ancient and far away. The reason for a living worship can be no less than the perception of the fact that there ever *is*, in the universe, somewhat worthy of reverence. The reason for an earnest search after truth must be, that truth still hides under, or within, the clod, the cloud, the sky, the heart of man. The reason for the exercise of kindness, sympathy, love, and all the graces and virtues, must be that these *now* are beautiful and good, and not that the culture and practice of them was anciently commanded.

THE NEW IDEAL, if it can indeed perform the work it aspires to do, will have an enviable part to fulfil. Those feet will prove most beautiful in this, as in a former age, that shall bring *good news* — not merely good history. We have a world-full of new knowledges and thoughts. The mission which shall show forth the *ideal* that is in all these, the possible and immanent moral good which they contain and carry, and shall show the way to better and better religious results, will bless the world more than all the missions of the ages combined. EDWARD B. PAYNE.

AGNOSTICISM AND RELIGION.

DR. ABBOT, in the January NEW IDEAL, characterizes the present as "the AGE OF AGNOSTICISM," "now drawing to its close." "What is known," he says, "as the 'philosophy of evolution' limits itself to a mere knowledge of 'phenomena,' and denies all possible knowledge of 'noumena'; it claims to demonstrate the impossibility of comprehending ultimate causes." According to his view, the necessary result, in order to escape from intolerable anguish, must be "a stoical suppression of the power to feel"; "a resolve to think and feel no more, but to extinguish all deep thought and all high feeling through frantic self-absorption in the soulless details of life."

Dr. Abbot is an able writer. No one can dispute his ability as a close and logical thinker; but may we not question whether it is correct to hold and teach that Agnosticism is "arrested," and that Agnostics, if not devoid of common, human reason and feeling, must at least abnegate all deep thought? If the contents and concepts of the mind, as well as the objects of the external world, be treated as phenomenal, the Doctor may be right in saying that the "philosophy of evolution" limits itself "to a mere knowledge of phenomena," denying the possibility of comprehending anything not of and belonging to the phenomenal cosmos. Science takes cognizance of all matters which can be clearly conceived and definitely grasped in thought, and is not limited to the sensible forms and properties of matter. Occult and partially apprehended laws, principles, and forces lie within the domain of the phenomenal, and faith in the uniform order of sequence is a fixed, necessary principle in scientific investigation and acquisition.

Much depends upon our definition of the term Agnostic. Prof. Huxley claims to have originated the use of the word to denote people who, like himself, confess to be hopelessly ignorant concerning a variety of matters about which metaphysicians and theologians dogmatize with the utmost confidence. "Agnosticism," he says, "is the essence of science, whether ancient or modern. It simply means that a man shall not say he knows or believes that which he has no scientific grounds for professing to know or believe. . . . I have no doubt that scientific criticism will prove destructive to the forms of supernaturalism which enter into the constitution of existing religions. . . . Agnosticism simply says that we know nothing of what may be beyond phenomena." Accepting the Idealism of Descarte and Kant, he neither affirms nor denies anything outside of or beyond consciousness, but finds the mental states sufficiently verified by results for all practical purposes. Dr. Abbot may hold that Idealism, as a philosophy, is not well founded, but he certainly cannot say that Idealists are not persons of deep thought and high feeling.

Mr. Darwin, alluding to the insufficiency of the proof of a personal Deity, said, "The safest conclusion seems to be that the whole subject lies beyond the range of human understanding. . . . I think (and more and more as I grow older), that generally, but not always, an Agnostic would be the more correct description of my state of mind."

The term Agnostic is used, without doubt, to indicate different degrees, or stages, of non-belief, perhaps of doubt, of theological claims. Mr. Herbert Spencer calls himself an Agnostic, because, while he differs from Prof. Huxley in affirming the existence of "an absolute," indeterminable Something, or Somewhat, Power or Energy, behind and independent of phenomena, he yet denies all knowledge, and all possible knowledge, of its nature, save as it is manifested and

made known phenomenally in nature, by and to the scientific understanding. Mr. Spencer claims that "while the Power which transcends phenomena cannot be brought within the power of our finite thought, yet that, as being a necessary datum of every thought, belief in its existence has, among other beliefs, the highest validity. . . . Our consciousness of the Absolute is not negative but positive, . . . a normal deliverance of consciousness." Again he says, "Though Agnosticism fitly expresses the confessed inability to know or conceive the nature of the Power manifested through phenomena, it fails to indicate the confessed ability to recognize the existence of that Power." Because of his affirmation of a positive "Unknowable," and his persistent denial of the further dogmatism into which his admission has been forced by others, Mr. Spencer has been the subject of the most diverse and conflicting criticism, and has been classed as Idealist, Pantheist, Agnostic. But, since Mr. Spencer calls himself an Agnostic, we have to admit that its meaning is not absolute or single, that the term has a second or modified sense, to denote a less measure of doubt or non-belief, and to include persons who are not pure Idealists, nor pure Agnostics, but who believe in "an Unknown, shot through and through with gleams from the great sun of knowledge which is mounting steadily up the morning sky of history."

Prof. Fiske says that Mr. Spencer, in replying to Mr. Harrison, "uses expressions which imply a doctrine of theism." Not a few of Mr. Spencer's admirers are devoted religionists, and hold that the Ultimate Power, which comes to life or expression in consciousness, is somehow, in some weird, pantheistic sense, God. One says, "Man's consciousness being itself vital product, and hence kith and kin of the eternal life-forces of the universe, has in itself some knowledge concerning them. . . . On the deepest problem of being, therefore, man cannot be said to be wholly and necessarily agnostic." Another writes, "The soul's normal delight in God is not produced by any purely negative unknown, nor by any positive known. No; but by our warrantable conviction that all the infinite unknown is, equally with the little territory that we know, the haunt of beauty, order, symmetry, and law."

The conviction that all nature is one, and that the unknown, equally with the known, is pervaded by the same undeviating law and order, would seem to be a postulate of scientific belief, warranted by experience, and so within the field of natural phenomena. But this is not all that is meant by "faith in God," or Theism. Undoubtedly, human delight in God is some thought and feeling regarding ideas and images in the mind, states of conscious emotion, subjective, and believed to have objective validity, or real existence. It is the old metaphysical puzzle, "Is there supernatural knowledge given in consciousness?" One side asserts it, the other denies it. Were it capable of proof, or of scientific treatment, why should it not have been settled long ago? Not even Dr. Abbot's carefully prepared treatise on "Scientific Theism" makes the subject clear, or carries conviction to the mind. There is a haze of mysticism surrounding his *identity of Being and Thought*, and we still seem to be hopelessly agnostic, left, as ever before, to feel our way, and to find, in traditional inheritance, revelation, social institutions, or philosophy, any dogmatic stopping-place or none.

Can it be said that there is not enough known, and to be known, to satisfy a mind of deep thought and high feeling? Is it "intellectual imbecility or intellectual cowardice," "an unpardonable sin of the intellect," "a despair of self," to affirm that we cannot comprehend the infinite, or define what God is? Must a man commit suicide because he cannot attain to a perfect, positive, all-comprehensive theory of the universe? The pious monks, saints, and mystics of former ages, and some of the philosophers too, claimed to have a superior faculty of sight, or insight, by which they could see God and other supermundane existences. There certainly was a consistency in it; but does science recognize the claim? Can science take us beyond our symbols, beyond consciousness?

As a humble thinker I cannot see why I should despair of my powers to learn more and more continually of the great and wonderful world, or should not take pleasure in learning, in spite of pain and death, and all the treachery, fraud, and wickedness of men, even though I do not hold any dogmatic belief in God and Immortality. Because I am more or less agnostic, of necessity, and consider it becoming and wise to hold belief in these matters subject to further discovery and light, I am not required to withdraw from the society of my fellow-men, put on a long face, and go mourning all my days. Religion has had the field so long that it has grown puffed up and overbearing, and loudly proclaims there is no joy, no sweetness, no beauty, no high feeling or deep thought, except under its folds, except in its churches, in its dogmatic assumptions and faiths. It is time religionists should have learned to the contrary, and that they have no monopoly of life, thought, or joy.

A. N. Adams.

WHO CONDEMNED JESUS TO DEATH?

Rabbi Schindler read to the Liberal Union Club of Boston, on January 4, at Young's Hotel, a brilliant essay, based upon ancient Hebrew authorities, and showing that the Sanhedrim never condemned any one to death on the same day as the trial, or on account of his own admissions therein. From these and other facts, which were stated by an English lawyer in *Littell's Living Age*, Vol. 134, the Rabbi argued that the charge made by the four Gospels against the Sanhedrim, of condemning Jesus to death, is false, and that the only sentence pronounced upon him was by Pilate.

The Jews have been persecuted so cruelly that we should be glad to believe in their innocence. We should not, however, overlook what Paul says in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, which is generally believed by scholars, even the most impartial, able, and independent, to have been actually written by the Apostle, and only twenty-five years after the crucifixion. In the midst of a passage too long to have been inserted fraudulently, occur these words: "The Jews, who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets." (Chap. II., v. 15. I follow the translation published by the American Unitarian Association.) This passage is supported by one in an Epistle of almost as early date, and of absolutely unquestioned authenticity (Galatians, III., 13): "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, 'Cursed is every one that is hanged upon a beam of wood.'" Taking this verse with the other, as well as with the context, it seems to me that Paul believed Jesus to have come under the curse of the Law by being sentenced to death by the Jews. Paul knew all about the Sanhedrim; and his teacher, Gamaliel, was a member. I must at least consider the high priest and other leading Jews responsible to some extent for the death of Jesus. We may, however, hope that he was treated more fairly than is charged in the Gospels; and we can scarcely doubt that he attacked the rulers so violently as to make it easy to get testimony enough to prove him guilty of both blasphemy and treason. Both these crimes were involved in assuming Messianic authority; and this he must be supposed to have done before his arrest. At all events we may honor him as the champion of the peasantry against an oppressive priesthood.

Fred. May Holland.

CORRESPONDENCE.

We have room for but a very few out of the many commendatory letters which have come to us concerning our January number. The following may be taken as samples of the whole:

[From Wm. J. Potter, New Bedford, Mass.]

"I have read The New Ideal from beginning to end, and with great satisfaction. It more than answers the expectations I had

formed. It is seldom, I think, that the first issue of a paper—for practically this is the first—reaches so high a mark. I inclose a dollar for my subscription ; I hope a great many will come—you will need them all."

[From HORACE L. TRAUBEL, Camden, N. J.]

"I like your first number greatly. Printing superb—none to compare with it."

[From FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Ph.D., Cambridge, Mass.]

"You begin with a grand success. The first number is an admirable one. Men are hungry enough for what your paper will bring."

[From Capt. ROBT. C. ADAMS, Montreal, Can.]

"I must express my delight. You have done it—replaced the *Index*, given a field for the masters of Liberalism to instruct us once more, and raised an Ideal that vindicates the opinions, work and aims of Rationalism. It is good to see Abbot brought to the front again: in that alone your work is justified."

[From Dr. W. T. HARRIS, Concord, Mass.]

"I inclose my subscription. The article of Dr. F. E. Abbot in the first number is worth many times the price of subscription, and I anticipate great things for the articles that follow. I am very glad to see the words 'Constructive Liberal Thought' on your banner. Destruction has been cheap for some time with most of us."

[From CARL H. HORSCH, Dover, N. H.]

"The hope that 'Good is in store for all the race' is the aspiration of every one, in proportion to the development of his reason and his rational faith. Let us hope that Materialists, Atheists, Agnostics, Individualists, and even Pessimists, will pass through still other transitions than they experienced in advancing from the various creeds to their present standpoints, striving ever, unitedly, for a *New Ideal*."

[From O. B. FROTHINGHAM, Boston.]

"I have read the opening number with great satisfaction. The promise is good. I am particularly interested in Dr. Abbot's position. It is certainly high time we radicals, having finished our first work of emancipating men's minds, should present some definite system of thought. It is a good sign that literature is getting creative. Let us know where we stand and *why we stand there*."

[From Dr. EDMUND MONTGOMERY, Hempstead, Tex.]

"In enclosing one year's subscription to THE NEW IDEAL, allow me to express to you my deep interest in your enterprise; for I also am emphatically a child of the era, that has created this new ideal. No more that other ideal, that for fulfilment has its face ever longingly turned to the past, hoping through spiritual severance from worldly belongings to regain a lost paradise;—but the ideal, that, upheld by the full tide of progressive life, is exultingly carrying this warring world-existence to ever loftier human heights. No more the old ideal, that in trembling awe awaits liberation of man's innermost being from bodily trammels, to find itself consummated all at once in some ready-made sphere of beatified perfection;—but the ideal, that, humbly trusting to the wondrous alchemy of progress-cumulating organization, knows that whatever stuff or force may compose the great outside world, this same magic world, in which we also are fully steeped, cannot fail, during sentient realization, to become gloriously sublimated by passing through the immortal form of the ever-meliorated vital alembic we depreciatingly call our body. No more the servile willingness of blind and pious submission to a fatalistic order of existence, arbitrarily pre-ordained under a tyrannical dispensation;—but the free and love-inspired shaping of life's own hard-won inheritance to beauteous forms of human creation. No more those childish supplications invoking help in our sore need from the chill expanse of starry wastes;—but the steadfast, grandly consoling consciousness of being, amid all adversity, safely, warmly centered in the great common life, in the tenderly sympathetic heart of civilized mankind. No more reward-hunting obedience to prepotently imposed injunctions;—but the melting away in Justice and Love of all egotistic bounds, that, through mean by-ways of self-seeking, are separating our own tiny bit of individualized being from the vast social communion of rejoicing, suffering humanity. This I take to be the main bent of the New Ideal, in whose gradual fulfilment I have unwavering hope."

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The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose;
And, striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form.

—*Nature, i., 7.*

THE fossil strata show us that Nature began with rudimental forms, and rose to the more complex as fast as the earth was fit for their dwelling-place; and that the lower perish as the higher appear. Very few of our race can be said to be yet finished men. We still carry sticking to us some remains of the preceding inferior quadruped organization. . . The age of the quadruped is to go out,—the age of the brain and of the heart is to come in. And if one shall read the future of the race hinted in the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate, and the corresponding impulse to the Better in the human being, we shall dare affirm that there is nothing he will not overcome and convert, until at last culture shall absorb the chaos and gehenna. He will convert the Furies into Muses and the hells into benefit.—*Culture.*

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